

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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## A LETTER

TO

LORD LAUDERDALE,

*On the Tent-Scene ; on the Conspiracy against the Queen ; on the Conspiracy against the People ; and on the present ridiculous figure presented by the Boroughmongers, their tools and dependents.*

London, Oct. 19, 1820.

LORD LAUDERDALE,

I select you as the person to address on the above subjects, not because I think you more or less wise, more or less upright, than other individuals of the same body to which you belong ; for, with very few exceptions, I think you equally wise and equally incorruptible. But, having written so many essays on this subject, I find it necessary to give the essays distinctive appellations ; and, for the same reason that I called one of my Letters on the Paper-Bubble, "the Letter to Tierney," I call this, "the Letter to Lauderdale." *The Tent-Scene* is the first

subject. After the destruction of the evidence of Majocchi, Demont, Sacchini, Rastalli, and all the Italian swearers ; after three days' cross-examination of Flynn and Hownam ; after all the unparalleled efforts of those whom I will not name, to establish something criminal, the only thing that even the corrupt and bribed press has left to hang to is, the fact, proved by Hownam, and never attempted to be denied by the Queen, so far from it, that her counsel, Mr. Williams, stated the fact in his opening speech ; this fact is all that even open and notorious corruption has to hang suspicion on ; and I shall now show, that this is, of the whole string of accusations, the most improbable, but yet, the most craftily wicked.

The representation is, that Her Majesty *slept or passed the night under a tent with Bergami for five successive weeks !* In words this is true ; but the base, cruel, and cowardly abettors of perjury and subornation ; those most degraded of all man-

kind; this *Selfish Faction*; this *Detested Class*, though fools enough in all conscience, know well, that, though this is *true in words*, it is, in *meaning and intent*, a most atrocious falsehood.

In the first place, what was this *tent*, as it is falsely called by the Attorney-General? It was *twenty three feet* long and *eighteen feet* wide! A pretty sort of *tent*! It was, in fact, a great part of the deck of the vessel with an awning over it, to keep off the scorching sun by day and the heavy dews by night. And why was it resorted to? Because the weather was so *hot*, and the stench from the animals in the hold so great, that the Queen could not live below. Is it possible for a man, who has ever been at sea, in a vessel resembling a Polacre, not to see sufficient reason for this arrangement, without resorting to the invention of motives such as could haunt none but the most jealous pate or the most malignant heart.

It appears, however, that, under this awning, *Bergami staid by night as well as the Queen*. And here base misrepresentation, cruel and cowardly calumny and malice, have

an advantage in the general well known ignorance of the people relative to the *state of things on board of ship*, and particularly such a miserable vessel as that in which her Majesty was sailing. Here Lord Exmouth or the King's brother, the Duke of Clarence, the Lord High Admiral, might have given a description of that state of things, and have shown, that, not to have a strong, active, and trusty man under the awning by night, would have been a very probable *casting away of life* in the Queen. But, I suppose, that neither of those noble personages, who have always sailed by night in ward-rooms and cabins as commodious and safe and as well attended, or better attended, than parlours or bedrooms in their mansions on shore; I suppose, that they could *form no idea* of the state of things in a Polacre, with twenty-two half-Turks and half-Italians for a crew, sailing on a sea infested by Algerine Pirates! I can form some idea of the matter, and I will endeavour to describe it.

The awning, which covered the Queen, was, at any moment, even in weather apparently the most calm, liable to be taken by



the wind, and snatched away as quickly as a bit of paper is blown from a table; and, in rough weather, every thing on the deck was liable, at any moment, to be swept into the sea. Who can describe the tossing, the buffetings, and the incessant dangers and alarms in such a situation in the night-time: sailing, too, for great part of the time, amidst islands, rocks and shoals, and in the well-known track of barbarian pirates? If you say, "*why* did the Queen, from her own choice, place herself in *such a situation*; my answer is, certainly *not for indulging a propensity, to which such a situation must have been an effectual damper, and in which she might have indulgence in safety and secrecy on shore.*"

There was no hour of any night, in which the aid and protection of a *man*, and of a stout, active and trusty man too, might not have been necessary to save even the *life* of the Queen. It has been proved, that a *light* was burnt under the awning by night, until it was necessary to burn it no longer for fear of al- luring pirates; it has been proved, that the *light of the binnacle* showed in under the

awning, and we know, that that light must burn every night; it has been proved, that there was a gang-way, or staircase, going down from under the awning into the parts below, and that several persons had to go up and down without restraint or ceremony at all hours; it has been proved, that the Lieutenant on deck (by night as well as by day) had frequently to go into the awning part to see and speak to the Queen; all this has been proved; it is a notorious fact, that the Queen might, if she had chosen, have remained on shore, in the safe and secret enjoyment of her alledged paramour! and yet, the placing of this same man as a guard or help or protection, near her person, in such a perilous situation, is, by the *Detested Class*, the plundering abettors of perjury and subornation, affected to be regarded as a proof of an adulterous intercourse with that same alledged paramour!

It might be peculiarly proper for Mr. Hownam to be asked, whether *he had seen her Majesty's lags*; but, what moment of any night was there, when it might not have been necessary for some man to catch her in his arms, and, whether with bare

legs or not, lug her, head or heels foremost, down below! I ask this of any man who knows what it is to sail in a vessel of two hundred tons, and who knows what gales, storms, and squalls are; and, if such man be not a corrupt and partial and forsworn abettor of perjury and subornation, he will say, that, for the Queen to have passed a night in such a situation without an able man always at hand to succour and to save her, would have argued, not only fool-hardiness, but downright insanity, on her part.

But, besides these incessant dangers of the seas, was there no danger to be apprehended from *a crew*, such as the Queen had on board? How long is it since a crew of these half-Italians, quarter-Turks, and quarter-pirates, actually violated as well as plundered their female English passengers? I have known what it is to sail with a mongrel crew partly of the St. Antonio sort, and I could keep on deck with the captain and mates, many hours at a time by night, while my wife, then only *eighteen*, instead of *fifty*, was lying in her birth below, not many feet distant from a Frenchman, with no other person in

the cabin. But, did the base thought of illicit intercourse ever come into my head! In the midst of the dangers of the sea and of mutiny, I wished, when I thought it my duty to take my turn on deck, to know some *man* was near my wife to keep her company, to give her confidence, to quiet her alarms. And what man, worthy of the name of man, would not have entertained the same wish? What, but a base, effeminate, impotent, would-be cornuto, would have thought or acted otherwise?

And, it being absolutely necessary, that *some man* should be constantly near the Queen by night, who so fit as her principal officer? As to the Lieutenants, one must *always* be on deck constantly on the watch, looking after the men and the winds, and the other taking *his turn to sleep*. Sometimes, and that, too, *all of a sudden*, both must be on deck at once; both engaged so anxiously as not to be able to turn aside for one moment, though they saw awning, Queen and all, going overboard! And, in the midst of all the whistling, bawling, thumping, running and rattling of reefing and tacking, while



the vessel was tossed about like a cork; in the midst of all this, is there a man, except he belong to the plundering and *Detested Class*, to say that a woman ought to have been left alone under that awning? The wonder is not, that her *Majesty's lags were swalled*: the wonder is how *men* could sit and listen to a detail of her sufferings, her perils and her heroism, and contemplate her cruel persecutions, and still restrain the tears from gushing from their eyes; a weakness which certainly would have been betrayed in any other body of men upon the face of the earth.

In taking leave of the "*tent-scene*," however, and of the *swalled lags*, so many pairs of which I have seen on ship-board, belonging to women, infinitely more virtuous and modest than the wives and daughters of the plundering and *Detested Classes*; in taking leave of this last poor attempt on the part of the abettors of perjury and subornation to stick a stain upon the Queen, and to form a pretence for justifying an expected stigmatizing decision; in taking leave of this miserable pretence for saying, that indecency, though not guilt, has

been proved, there are two things to be pointed out to the public, who, generally speaking, are not at all acquainted with a maritime life: the first is, that, to *bear one's existence at sea*, is, of itself, no little difficulty; that, to make it bearable to the *King* only for a few days, *yachts*, costing hundreds of thousands of pounds, with accompanying squadrons of frigates, are necessary; and that, when a *Maitland* moves by water, the sweat of the people of England has to answer for his *comforts and conveniences*. Last year, only in *one year*, this laborious and heavily taxed nation had to pay no less a sum than 784*l.* 16*s.* to the *Honourable Anthony Maitland*, Captain of the *Glasgow*, for giving, on board that ship, *entertainment*, to *Sir Thomas Maitland*, during his *eight trips* about the Mediterranean, all the trips together amounting to about 15 days more than the 40 days' voyage of the *Queen*. This was for mere *entertainment*, in addition to all the expence of a ship of war. This was for *extra comforts and conveniences*! Both these *Maitlands* are, I believe, *near relations of yours*. *Sir Thomas* did not, I'll be sworn

for him, pass his nights under an awning, with the risk of being blown overboard; and, I dare say, that his *lags* were not *swallowed*.

Then, a thing never to be lost sight of, the preposterous idea of the Queen going to sea at all for the purpose of indulging in amorous delights; when every one that has been at sea knows, that the very situation, besides its necessary exposures, destroys, for the time, every propensity of the kind; that it unsettles the stomach; produces a general loathing of all that was pleasant on shore; causes a disrelish for all the ordinary indulgences; creates a temporary debility; and, in short, suspends the functions as well as the desires. *Sea-sick and amorous!* oh! the filthy; oh! the beastly idea! But, to continue in this fit for forty days and forty nights! To continue in this fit for as long a time as Noah was in the ark! To seek the gratification, and to be *constantly* seeking it, surrounded by witnesses and in the midst of perils; and actually to *prefer* this to a bed-room, a grotto, or secluded alcove; and for Bergami, who is alleged to have been all-powerful over the

Queen, to suffer her to indulge in this unnatural preference at the expence of a large part of her income! There is something so monstrous in this, that he who can affect to believe it possible, must be one of the *Detestables*, an abettor of subornation and perjury, and would *cheer* even the Devil himself, and *shake his hand*, if he came forth in his proper person to assist in the destruction of the victim!

Farewell, then, to the "*Tent Scene*;" and now let us come to something much more worthy of public attention.

*The Conspiracy against the Queen.*—I am not going to waste my time here upon Powell's *speeches*, any more than upon the colour of his skin, the African tossing of his head, or the woolliness of its covering, though they are full as important as the *swallowing* of the Queen's *lags*, or as the *accent* and *grammar* of the Countess of Oldi, the badness of which latter, as being no test of her want of *high-blood*, might be proved by my producing (if I had room for such trash) *seven hundred and twenty-one* errors of grammar in one single book, written by an *hereditary standard-bearer of Scotland!* I am



not going to waste my time upon Powell's speeches, uttered under the name of evidence ; but, leaving those to serve as the means of blinding fools who wish to be blinded and led blind-fold to their ruin, I shall proceed to strip the affair of *Rastelli* of the *mystification*, by which it is attempted to envelope and to smother it. It is a matter that defies all painting, and that laughs at all illustration. In plain narrative it is complete and entire. Every step explains its motive. The story being plainly told, the judgment of the world follows.

There will be a time, hereafter, for dwelling particularly on the deeds of those base conspirators by whom papers belonging to the Queen, were obtained from her Attorney's office, by means of a bribe, coming out of English taxes, given to the clerk of that attorney. There will, hereafter, be a time, if even a show of justice is to take place, of hearing, to its full extent, all the evidence against those conspirators, who, as clearly as day-light, have been guilty of conspiracy to compass the destruction of the Queen ; that is to say, to *depose* her, at the very least ; and, that, therefore, they

have been guilty of *High Treason* ; but, for the present, I shall confine myself to the affair of *Rastelli*, and, in order to place the facts in as plain a light as possible, and to do away with that *mystification*, which now appears to be the order of the day, and the last miserable hope of the conspirators ; I shall divide the principal facts under distinct heads, so that they will be the more likely to meet with a clear conception, and to make a lasting impression on the mind.

1. It is notorious that a foul conspiracy was instigated against her Majesty in 1806, that it was carried on by perjury, procured by subornation ; and that the perjurers, after having been detected, were suffered to escape without punishment, and without trial ; and, moreover, that one of the principal perjurers enjoyed a pension during pleasure to the end of his life.

2. It is notorious, that her Majesty, the prosecuted party in this case, did, before the trial began, solemnly declare, in a letter written by herself, signed with her own name, and addressed to his Majesty, that the present proceedings *had their origin in a foul conspiracy*,

carried on by the means of subornation and perjury.

3. It is, further, notorious, that, these facts being well known, it was asked of the prosecutors, before the trial commenced, what security there would be for the punishment of any witnesses, who might perjure themselves upon this trial; and that the Ministers, who had filled the green bags, and who had assisted in making the Report of the Secret Committee, who had brought in the Bill of Pains and Penalties, and who, to all these functions, were now seen amongst the judges of the Queen, to find evidence against whom, they had established, and sent out, an Inquisitorial Commission; it was now declared by those Ministers, that, whatever witnesses might give evidence against the Queen, *they should all be forth-coming to answer any charge that might be brought against them.*

4. It is a fact, equally notorious with the former, that almost the whole of the witnesses against the Queen were shut up in a small place, called Cotton-garden? that they were locked into that place; that they were guarded, besides, by soldiers, day and night; that provisions

were carried in to them; that they were commodiously lodged, fed, and entertained, with exceeding care and liberality; and that it was physically impossible for any one of them to be subtracted from the enclosure, or fortress, except by the will of the person, or persons, under whose guardianship they were, or without the disobedience or treachery of the keeper of the fortress.

5. But lest, by any accident, any one of them should escape through such a series of precautions, an *Alien Act* was in existence; kept in existence in opposition to a petition presented to the two Houses, wherein the petitioners stated, that vile use might be made of it with regard to witnesses for or against the Queen, and which petition was rejected upon the ground, that, not to pass the Bill, would be to throw on the Ministers *a suspicion that they were capable of using it for so foul and infamous a purpose*; that this Bill, therefore, continued to be, and still is, in existence; that this Bill absolutely enables the Ministers to prevent any *foreigner from quitting the country without a passport from themselves*; that this Bill,



therefore, fully enabled the Ministers to make good the solemn pledge which they had given, of keeping in the country every witness who should depose against the Queen, in order to that witness being made answerable for any perjury of which he might be guilty; and that, thus, the solemn pledge was not only given, but the full power to fulfil that pledge was possessed by the Ministers.

6. The next fact is, that there was a witness against the Queen, named *Rastelli*; that this witness swore to several things of an important nature.

7. That, after many days had been spent, in the examination of witnesses on the side of her Majesty, there came two most respectable witnesses from Italy, one of them had been the master tradesman in the building line, and the employer of *Rastelli*, who was a journeyman, or labourer, under him; that the evidence of these two most credible persons proved that *Rastelli* had sworn falsely, and it further proved, that he had been engaged at Milan in collecting witnesses against the Queen; in asking them to come and swear against her;

in giving some of them money; in offering others money and other rewards which they refused to take; and, in short, in acting in the capacity of an authorised collector and suborner of witnesses.

8. That it now became essential to justice towards the Queen, to *recall Rastelli*, in order that he might, at once, be interrogated as to these alleged acts of subornation; and that, to the utter astonishment and indignation of the public, it was now found, that *Rastelli* was not only not forthcoming, but that he had been taken out of the locked up fortress; that money had been furnished him to carry him to Milan; that a passport had been given him, signed by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (*Castlereagh*); and that thus he was *gone off completely out of the country!*

9. The Ministers, who had made the pledge for forthcoming, had the witnesses in their charge and in their power; the Ministers were the accusers and prosecutors; the Attorney-General was their Advocate; the Solicitor to the Treasury was their Attorney, and to his charge and responsibility to the First Lord of the Treasury, were

these witnesses all committed. This man's name is *Maule*; this man was responsible to *Liverpool*, *Liverpool* to his colleagues, and the whole Ministry to the nation, for the safe keeping of these witnesses.

10. When it is discovered that *Rastelli* is gone, *Maule* is not called upon; the Attorney-General is not called upon; *Liverpool* is not called upon; the Ministry are not called upon; but there comes up to the bar a man of the name of *Powell*, an obscure attorney, living somewhere in London, of whom, indeed, the public have heard, as the frequent visitor of the chambermaid, named *De Mont*, who went under the name of a Countess; of whom, indeed, the public have heard, as having been in a big house in Pall-Mall, just about the time of the King's death, along with *Majocchi*, at the time when *Majocchi* came out of that house with great parcels of gold in his hands; but of whom in any public capacity, in any office under government, in any public employ whatsoever, neither the nation, the House of Lords, nor the Ministers, knew any thing at all; there comes this *Powell* to the bar of the House

of Lords, without being sent for, without pretending any right to be there, and he tells the House of Lords, that *he it was* who took *Rastelli* out of the fortress; that *he it was*, who, out of his own head, and without instructions or authority from any body, had taken *Rastelli* forth from the depot, had got him a passport signed by *Castlereagh*, had sent him off out of the country, and had received intelligence, that, since his arrival at Milan, he had been *blooded and lay ill of a fever*.

11. Being asked whom the passport was signed by, he said *Castlereagh*; and afterwards *Castlereagh's* secretary was called, and this man, *Planta*, swore that the passport was a blank passport that *Castlereagh* had signed before, and that he, *Planta*, it was, who filled up the passport with *Rastelli's* name, and thus enabled the perjurer and suborner to get himself out of the reach of the laws.

12. When *Powell* was asked what were his reasons for sending *Rastelli* away, he answered that he sent him away to convince the relations of the good people in the fortress, that those



good people were safe and sound, those good people's relations having been alarmed for their safety, in consequence of what he called the riots at Dover, though those good people themselves, *after the riots at Dover*, had once again been in safety upon the Continent; though they might have written from there to satisfy their relations of their safety; and though they might all again have written several times from the depot, or fortress, having this kind and tender-hearted Government to send off their letters for them, and having the no-less-kind Colonel Brown to distribute the letters amongst those affectionate relatives; notwithstanding all these circumstances, *Rastelli* must be sent away to inform the affectionate people of the safety of their friends, of their being so comfortably lodged, and so amply fed, at the expence of the people of England.

13. When the House of Lords heard this story from the mouths of *Powell* and *Planta*; when *Powell* had come before this House, and told this story, Lord *Liverpool* said *Rastelli* had been sent away without his knowledge; but pledged him-

self for the good motives and good character of *Powell*; the Lord Chancellor joined in this, and eulogized the character of *Cooke*; and Lord *Blessington* is reported to have said, that *Powell* was a most worthy person, and that *he had the HONOUR of his acquaintance!*

14. There is only to be added, that the CANDOUR and HIGH CHARACTER of *Liverpool* were extolled to the skies by those who are said to be in opposition to him; and that the Counsel for the Queen did not scrape their papers up together, ram them into their bags, make a low bow to the assembly, and leave those who had begun the proceedings to end them in any manner they pleased.

Upon this subject, not another word need be said. The whole matter explains itself: to comment upon it; to attempt any thing in the way of illustration, or of enforcing, would be to diminish the effect which the plain narrative must make upon every mind.

*Conspiracy against the People.*—This matter is very nearly as plain as the last, and not much inferior to it in point of importance. A boy is taken up

for distributing handbills, in the name, and under the signatures of, certain gentlemen composing the Queen's Plate Committee. These placards, or handbills, are such as are usually denominated, in the cant of the day, seditious and treasonable. I have read several of them, and I declare that I think them not only very well written, but that I greatly approve of their contents; and that Mr. *Franklin*, or Mr. *Fletcher*, or Mr. *O'Bryen*, or whoever else may have been the author or distributor of them, has, for this act, my most unqualified thanks.

But, the merit of the productions has nothing to do with this question, which relates, first, to the object of issuing them; and, secondly, to the conduct of the Ministry, and of Sidmouth, in particular, with regard to the Police Magistrate, *Baker*, and with regard to the not making of efforts to secure *Franklin*, who had been proved to be a publisher of the handbills, or, at least, had been charged on oath, before the magistrate, of the offence.

As to the first of these, considering the source whence the Bills came, there cannot be the smallest doubt that the inten-

tion was, on the part of *Franklin*, at least, and those under whom *Franklin* acted, to cause it to be believed, that the Radicals were actually preparing for a general violent assault upon that upholder of *Social Order*, called the Government. There can be no doubt that the Placards, that recently led to the shedding of blood in Scotland, proceeded from the same source. Upon any other supposition, it was perfectly miraculous how the country, for twelve miles round Glasgow and Paisley, could be supplied with these without the detection of any printer or any publisher. There cannot be the smallest doubt in the mind of any man, that the object was to produce a sudden burst here, in London; to cause the rich and timid to be alarmed; to get some blood to be shed; to identify the Queen with the apparent rebellion; to frighten people from the support of her by this means; or, at the very least, to terrify the mass of quiet people of property; and to prepare the way for a total extinction of the press under a law of *censorship*.

These were so manifestly the objects of these publications,



considering the source from which it was sworn that they had proceeded, that none but a gross fool could fail to perceive them, and none but a hypocrite could pretend not to perceive them.

Upon Mr. *Hume's* bringing this matter forward in the House of Commons, *Castlereagh* urged, what he called the seditious tendency of the bills as a proof that the Government could not have authorised them. He asserted, as a fact, that the Government did not authorize them. He answered, not only for himself, but for the rest of his colleagues, and particularly for the gentle *Sidmouth*! Mr. *Bennett* chose to give the Noble Lord credit for *strict veracity*, upon this occasion; for the doing of which I must suppose Mr. *Bennett* to have had *very sufficient reasons*, though he did not state them. Not having been made acquainted with those reasons, I shall not presume to join Mr. *Bennett* in this respect; and shall leave *Castlereagh's* assertion to pass for as much as it is worth with the public.

But, as to *Castlereagh's* REASON why the Government could not have any thing to do with

the matter, upon that, I have something to say. *Castlereagh* says, in the first place, that the placards were of a seditious tendency, as he calls it; and what were the movements of *Oliver* and *Edwards*? Yet I believe that there are few people impudent enough to pretend, that the Government had nothing to do with those movements. An insurrection might, under the present circumstances, not have happened to terminate in quite so favourable a manner to the Government, as did the enterprizes of *Oliver* and *Edwards*: therefore, the employment of conspirators to circulate these hand-bills, might, in fact, have been labouring for the Government's own destruction; and this would have been very foolish; but, the thing being very foolish, so far from being a *proof* of its not having been done, would, in the opinion of those who have been attentive observers of the acts of this Government, be a strong presumptive proof of the contrary; for, while it is notorious, that great wickedness is perfectly compatible with great foolishness, it is equally notorious, that this Government (always excepting his Majesty and his two Houses

of Parliament) is carried on by the most foolish set of men that ever breathed the breath of life ; of which there needs no other proof than *Peel's* Bill and the Bill of Pains and Penalties. The former was quite sure to produce the destruction of the system ; but, lest its authors entertained a doubt of that, they seem to have been resolved, by introducing the latter, to make assurance double sure.

Therefore, *Castlereagh's* reason is not worth a straw ; and, as I do not, like Mr. *Bennett*, take his assertions for granted, I leave my readers to draw their own conclusions as to whether the discovered conspirators were or were not employed by the Government, always begging them to bear in mind the open avowal of the employment of spies.

As to the second point, the screening of *Baker*, who let *Franklin* go without taking bail, Mr. *Calvert*, Sir *Robert Wilson's* brother *Shoy Hoy*, declared that he knew *Baker* to be a most honourable man. He had doubtless very good reasons for this ; quite as good as *Bennett* had for placing such implicit reliance upon the declaration of *Castlereagh* ; but, as I am, in this case,

also, unacquainted with his reasons, I have to observe that a man, taken up at Woolwich by a Rev. Dr. *Watson*, for sticking up a placard, merely explaining the nature of the Bill of Pains and Penalties, was slapt off, at once, to Maidstone, the Magistrate having insisted, not only upon bail, but upon bail after *forty-eight hours' notice* ; and the man was packed off before the eight and forty hours were expired. When brought to the Quarter Sessions, there was a friend ready with the means of defence for the man ; and when that was found to be the case the man was turned out of the gaol to go about his business, *no bill of indictment having been presented against him* ! Now, I should not be at all surprized if there were plenty of *Shoy-Hoys* to say that this Dr. *Watson* was a most extraordinarily honourable man !

However, there was *Franklin* before *Baker* ; there was what is called the seditious hand-bill ; there was the oath of his being the publisher ; and *Baker* lets the man go without bail ; the man finds the means to get clean off out of the country ; and the House of Commons, besides containing a member to be



responsible for the honour of Baker, refuses to meddle with the matter, and the gentle Sidmouth refuses also to take any steps for the apprehending of the man, though the Secretary of State for the Home Department had so often taken such steps on similar occasions before. Mr. Clive and Mr. Beckett rise up to justify the gentle Sidmouth; but the whole House seem to have forgotten the Richmond Park Minister's Circular Letter, wherein he told the Magistrates that it was their duty to be vigilant, and to take up, send to prison, or hold to bail, any one whom they found guilty of publishing what he calls sedition or blasphemy! Had he forgotten his Circular Letter, when the conduct of Baker was complained of to him? And will he now keep this Baker in his office; for, observe, Baker holds his office of Police Magistrate during the gentle Sidmouth's pleasure! If, therefore, Baker still retain his office, what are the conclusions which we ought to draw?

I say, that the publications imputed to Franklin; the publications, for the publishing of which he was apprehended, or, at least, such of them as I have

read, were extremely good things. I like them. I am sorry his career was stopped. He made use of such language as we all ought to be permitted to make use of in print, and as ninety-nine-hundredths of the people do make use of in conversation. Franklin was doing a great deal of good; and I am sorry he was stopped. The exposure of the conspiracy is worth something, to be sure; but a good supply of the hand-bills, for another month or two, would have been worth a great deal more. The times are altered. Peel's bill and the arrival of the Queen, co-operating so delightfully as they do, actually pull up people's eye-lids, and make them see whether they will or not. The conspirators are actually labouring for the people; and I do not approve of the abuse of the hand-bills, though I reprobate the object of the conspirators. But this is no matter. Those bills are a vast deal more seditious, as Sidmouth calls it; that is to say, they contain useful truths, just sentiments, and good advice, more plainly and strongly expressed, than any of those publications, against which Sidmouth's circular was levelled,

and for the publishing of which, one man in Cheshire has been sent to gaol, even *by the Magistrates themselves*, from the Quarter Sessions, for *four years and a half*! Yet *Franklin*, after being apprehended, is suffered to go at large without bail; the Home Office refuse, by the particular instruction of gentle *Sidmouth*, to assist in catching him, and off he goes clean out of the country!

*The state of the Boroughmongers.*—Leaving *Sidmouth*, for the present, at least, to his *practice of piety*, and leaving *Castle-reagh* to be implicitly relied on by Mr. *Bennett*, the honour of Sir Robert *Baker* to be vouched for by Mr. *Calvert*, while the Lord Chancellor reposes so safely under the praises and the poetry of Mr. *Hobhouse* the younger; leaving these to amuse those from whom the Boroughmongers have not actually taken the faculty of laughing, let me now take, by way of conclusion, just a glance at the state of those Boroughmongers' affairs, at which I, at any rate, may be allowed to laugh.

The other night, in the House of Commons, *Gascoyne*, the worthy colleague of the absconded son of the pensioned

Hunn, introduced by way of episode, the proof of *the ruin of the town of Liverpool*; that hitherto scene of vaunted prosperity, and that sink of servility and mercantile corruption. Not a word was said on the subject. The bands of breaking and howling merchants, of whose petition this *Gascoyne* was the bearer, obtained no more attention than the Radicals, whom they used to despise, were formerly able to obtain. Their petition was laid on the table; and there it will lie, cheek by jowl with the petitions of the farmers, who, I thank God, have now to sell their wheat for *six and sixpence* a bushel, and who will, before next May, very probably sell it for five shillings a bushel. We shall then have even the farmers, even the Yeomanry Cavalry, amongst the Radicals, the word *radical* meaning belonging to *the root*, and a *Radical* meaning a person who wants to tear up corruption *by the root*, to destroy its very fibers, and to prevent it from ever growing again. This is the meaning of the word *Radical*, and a more apt or more honourable appellation never was applied.

The *Courier*, the trumpet of the Boroughmongers remarks,



with undisguisable spleen, that the Radicals "make no attempt *"to disguise their joy"* at the accession, which the Queen's cause has brought to their *ranks*. He might have said, at the *ranks* themselves, which that cause has brought us. *Disguise* our joy! Why should we? Did the Boroughmongers disguise *their joy*? Did the *selfish faction* disguise their joy, when the *funds* rose upon the passing of the Dungeon-Bill in 1817? Did they disguise *their joy* when OLIVER had brought Brandreth, Turner, and Ludlam to the block? Did they disguise their joy when the Yeomanry had killed and half-killed so many men, women, and children, at Manchester? Did they disguise their joy when Sidmouth, in the name of the King, sent a Letter, applauding the conduct of the Magistrates and Yeomanry of Manchester? Did they disguise their joy, when Parson Hay, *one of those Magistrates*, got a living worth 2,500*l.* a-year? Did they disguise their joy when the conspiracy of *Edwards* had been brought to its intended bloody conclusion? Did they disguise their joy at the transporting and beheadings only the other

day in Scotland, brought about manifestly by a conspiracy against the people, of the same description as that now under inquiry? Did this selfish and bloody faction ever disguise *it's joy* upon any of those occasions? And, if not, why are we to disguise our joy at the arrival of an event which has left *the faction* as naked as a bird two hours old, and almost as helpless? Which has stripped it of every rag of its covering; which has exposed it to the eyes of the blindest of the people; which has caused it to be held in disgust more complete than ever was before felt towards any body of mortals? Why are we to *disguise our joy at this*? For my part, though my acquaintance have always said, that I was *born laughing*, I now do laugh in good earnest: I go to sleep laughing, and laughing open my eyes. I really must turn out to dig again, or I shall grow as fat as a Hampshire hog.

Who can help laughing to see what is going on in Naples, Spain, and Portugal, while our pretty gentlemen stand stamping, cursing, and grinding their teeth, with their pockets turned inside out? Who can help

laughing at seeing the *Field-Marshal*, Lord Beresford, coming back to Portugal with the high-commands of King John in his pocket, written in kingly style? And must I not laugh, then; shall I see this high and mighty Beresford come, one of these days, into Portsmouth, as quietly as a mouse creeps into his hole, after having taken a peep at a cat; shall I see this, and shall I not laugh? Am I to restrain my laughter when I contemplate the tremulous anxiety, with which an English-newspaper is now opened by the bald-headed and brazen bully, who spoke of "the *revered and ruptured* Ogden?" Must I not laugh, when I see lying *perdue*, that swaggering, hectoring man, who, when the people complained of *seat-selling*, called them "a *low degraded crew*," and who had the saucy impudence to say, "If I disfranchise Grampound, it is because I will preserve Old Sarum?" Must I not laugh, when I behold the present state of this saucy and insolent man? Well! but must I not laugh, then, when I see the King advised to receive addresses from the inhabitants, from the *watermen*, of *Cowes*;

to receive them *in person* too, and to return *answers* in person, though this has for half a century been refused to the *Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of London*; the honour of this mode of communication being confined to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, and the two Universities? Must I, having so often seen the City of London refused this honour, not laugh to see the King advised to receive an addressing deputation from the *Watermen of Cowes*, and to deliver them his Royal and most gracious answer? Must I not laugh to see the corrupt press exhorting, beseeching, invoking, "implo-  
"ploring the loyal to come for-  
"ward, in every city, town,  
"village, and hamlet with ad-  
"dresses to the King," though of inevitable necessity, the real gist of those addresses must be to take part against his wife, and, of course, to give countenance to a prosecution, which, if successful, must establish his own dishonour? Must I not laugh, when I behold the people's enemies stricken with insanity like this? Nay, to cut short this list of topics for everlasting fun, must I, when I see *Peel's Bill*, intended to preserve the paper-



system, hastening to its destruction that system, which, even if left alone, must destroy itself; when I see this great, all-pervading and irresistible cause at work in the depreciation of prices, the enhancing of salaries, the violating of contracts, and the producing of general ruin and misery in all the productive ranks of life; must I not, when I behold this, laugh to see a dunderheaded old Scotsman gravely proposing to *set a' to rights* by regulating the *mant preece of salver*? Yes, laugh I must, and laugh I will; for who has a better right to laugh than

WM. COBBETT.

### CONTRIBUTIONS

TO THE  
LIBRARY OF THE "SELFISH  
FACTION."

1. BERGAMI'S BREECHES and the BLUE MANTLE, a poem, addressed to "*James Maitland, Citizen and Needle-maker*," by his admiring countryman, the

author of the *Forged Eclair*; to which is prefixed the appropriate motto of "*Wa wants me!*"

2. An essay on *conjugal fidelity* (long since promised), by Mr. STREET, one of the editors of the COURIER.

3. ROSA MATILDA'S long-expected and most instructive essay on *female delicacy* and on *platonic love*, illustrated by appropriate examples in her own life and manners. It is not yet settled, whether this shall come forth through her usual channel, the *Morning Post*, or in a separate pamphlet.

4. DOCTOR SLOP is coming out, immediately, with an eulogium on *inquisitions, spies, and poisoners*; to which is to be added, proofs of the wisdom of a man's wishing to be proved a cuckold.

5. The JEW SPYE is about to treat us with an essay, proving, that, to live in luxury with another woman in London, while one's own wife is actually *begging in the streets of Paris*, is a

proof of unshaken attachment to "*morality, religion, and Social Order.*"

G. MR. JAMES PERRY'S is a graphic contribution, exhibiting an *old ass* balancing between two thistles.

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#### THE BLOODY JUDGE JEFFERIES.

Mr. Benbow, No. 269, Strand, will publish next Wednesday, an engraving, price 1s. representing the seizing of this ruffian, by the people, at Wapping, at the time of the Glorious Revolution, in 1688. He was disguised in a *Sailor's Dress*; but had not had time to change his wig! This is a striking exhibition of a *corrupt and cruel judge*, at the close of his career. It is an exhibition that every Englishman ought to have in

his house. Tyrants have means enough of insulting the people by exhibiting themselves decked out in their robes of prosperity. Here is the exhibition of a *fallen tyrant*; and, it is such as every man ought to look at as often as he can.

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#### TO THE METHODISTS.

I mean, next week, to address a *sermon* to you on the subject of the conduct of your *Conferences*. I have refrained a long while, from a reluctance to do any thing that might, even by possibility, offend *good men*; but, I can, and will, refrain no longer. I commend your piety, your general moral conduct, and, above all things, your *sobriety*; but, the conduct of the *heads* of your Church must be enquired into and exposed.



## PLACARD CONSPIRACY.

*(From the Times.)*

**BOW-STREET.**—On Tuesday morning, as soon as Mr. Birnie had taken his seat, Mr. Harmer and Mr. Haydon appeared in the office, attended by a bill-sticker, of the name of John Jones, for the purpose of laying an information against Mr. Denis O'Bryen, of Craven-street, in the Strand, for publishing an inflammatory and seditious placard. The magistrate directed the information to be laid, and the bill-sticker was examined in a private room. The deposition was taken upon oath, and was to the following effect:—

John Jones, of No. 1, Gardener's-row, Westminster, being sworn, on his oath, says---that on the night of the 19th of July, 1820, about 11 o'clock, a gentleman, whom deponent has been informed, and verily believes, to be Mr. Denis O'Bryen, came to his house, in Gardener's-row, and pulled out a bundle of printed bills, and requested the deponent to post them on the walls from Westminster to Smithfield. Deponent observed that there was no printer's name attached to the bills, and objected on that account to post them, but the gentleman told him not to be afraid, for he would meet him at Charing-cross, and go through with him. Deponent consented, and the following night, about 11 o'clock, he proceeded to post the bills. They were in number about 200. Deponent posted them as far as Charing-cross, where he waited for his employer, but he did not

come there, and he went on posting the bills till he came to Smithfield. The gentleman came to him some time afterwards, and gave him 2*l.* for the job. —Deponent's regular charge would have been about 12*s.* The same person had employed him several times before to post bills at night. Some little time ago the same gentleman came to him, and requested him to post some smaller bills, but deponent objected, upon which the gentleman laughed, and said, he would lend him a great coat to hide his paste-pot. Deponent, however, refused, and the gentleman laughed and said, he need not be afraid, for "if he was taken up, it would be all the better for him." The bill now produced, headed "To the Non-represented," was one of those he had so posted. It was dated July 12, 1819. This examination having been concluded, Mr. Harmer and Mr. Haydon again entered the office, and laid the information before Mr. Birnie.

Mr. Birnie, after having read it over, said, "Is this all?"

Mr. Harmer said it was.

Mr. Birnie.—I cannot issue a warrant upon the unsupported evidence of an accomplice.

Mr. Harmer.—But we cannot, Sir, at this moment, procure any other evidence.

Mr. Birnie.—I cannot help that. This man is equally culpable with his employer, and if we should proceed in this business I should think it my duty to commit him also.

Mr. Harmer.—I think the publisher, or principal, is the most

culpable. We could have had the evidence of the printer; but he would have been liable to the same objection.

Mr. Birnie.—Most assuredly.

Mr. Harmer.—Then I do not see how there could be any other evidence at present.

Mr. Birnie.—I do not know that.

Mr. Harmer.—But while we are seeking for that evidence Mr. Denis O'Bryen may escape.

Mr. Birnie.—Aye, it is very irregular to proceed in this way.

Mr. Harmer.—Sir, if you will suffer the apprehension to take place, I pledge myself to procure other evidence when the matter is brought before you.

Mr. Birnie.—Let me see the placard.

Mr. Harmer here produced a very large placard, dated 12th July, 1819, (at the period of the Smithfield meeting.)

Mr. Birnie, having read it, said, "Why, this is the one produced last week?"

Mr. Harmer.—Yes, but no information was given upon it.

Mr. Birnie read the placard very attentively, and Mr. Harmer pointed out some treasonable passages in it. Mr. Birnie said, it certainly was seditious.

Mr. Birnie then took the deposition of the bill-sticker and the placard, and proceeded into a private room, accompanied by Mr. Harmer, Mr. Haydon, and Mr. Stafford. They remained there for a considerable time. On their return to the office Mr. Birnie wrote a letter to Mr. Hobhouse, Under-Secretary for the Home Department, enclosing the deposition of the bill-sticker

and the placard. It was given to Mr. Harmer for his inspection, and it was afterwards sealed and dispatched to the Home Department.

In the space of about an hour the messenger returned with an answer from Sir B. Hobhouse, the purport of which we understood was to desire the magistrate to use his own discretion respecting the issue of the warrant.

Mr. Birnie immediately signed the warrant, but Mr. Harmer was not then present, and it remained on the table ready to be served when the parties applying should call for its execution.

Mr. Birnie subsequently explained, that the only motive for hesitation on his part in signing the warrant was, that the evidence on which it was applied for was that of an accomplice.

The warrant was to the following effect:—

PUBLIC OFFICE, BOW STREET.

"To all constables and others whom it may concern:—

"These are, in his Majesty's name, to command you and every of you, upon sight hereof, to take into your safe custody and bring before me the body of Denis O'Bryen, he being charged, on the oath of John Jones, with unlawfully publishing, and causing to be published, a certain seditious and inflammatory posting-bill, with intent to excite disaffection in the minds of the people towards his late and present Majesty's Government, and with intent to subvert the laws of this country.



"Given under my hand and seal, this 17th day of October, 1820.

(Signed) "R. BIRNIE."

We understand that a note was immediately written to Mr. Harmer, acquainting him that the warrant had been issued, and appointing a time for him to appear at the office. The hour we understood to be 8 o'clock. A letter was also transmitted to Mr. Denis O'Bryen requiring his attendance at the same hour. Mr. Birnie received an answer from Mr. O'Bryen soon afterwards, dated from his own house, at 21, Craven-street, informing the worthy Magistrate that he was then extremely indisposed, and that Dr. Maton, who attended him, had declared that his life was in danger if he stirred out. Notwithstanding, at the hazard of his life, he would appear at the office at the time appointed.

At about eight o'clock Mr. O'Bryen appeared in the office, and was apparently considerably indisposed. He took his seat within the partition of the office appropriated to the Magistrates. In a few minutes Mr. Birnie and Mr. O'Bryen retired into a private room, but remained there only a few seconds. On his return Mr. O'Bryen resumed his seat.

Mr. Birnie, looking at the clock, said, "You have been very punctual, Sir. There is no occasion for your waiting any longer here."

Mr. O'Bryen said that he had come here, as he had been requested, he hoped, in time.

Mr. Birnie.—You have not

been brought here; you have come here of your own accord.

Mr. O'Bryen.—I am aware of that, but here I am. After some pause he added, I know all this will appear to-morrow in the papers.

Mr. Birnie repeated, that he need not keep Mr. O'Bryen there, and asked him if he had come in a coach; Mr. O'Bryen answered in the negative, and Mr. Birnie immediately ordered a coach to be fetched.

Mr. O'Bryen then rose, and, in an agitated manner, said, "Before I go may I be allowed to say one word."

Mr. Birnie.—Certainly, as many as you choose.

Mr. O'Bryen, then putting his hands together in an energetic manner, addressed Mr. Birnie thus:—"If you, Sir, had been accused of murder, or of parricide, upon my honour, and you have known me upwards of 30 years, you would have been as guilty as I am of being implicated with these placard-makers, or bill-stickers."

The messenger who had been sent for the coach then returned, and stated that the coach was at the door. As Mr. O'Bryen was going out Mr. Birnie took him by the hand and said, "Good night, my good friend, good night." Mr. O'Bryen then left the office.

In about a quarter of an hour afterwards Mr. Harmer came into the office much heated, as if he had walked fast. Mr. Birnie then explained to him the circumstances which had occurred, and told him that Mr. O'Bryen was apparently very ill. Mr.

Harmer said he certainly should not at this late hour disturb Mr. O'Bryen, but he would write him a note, appointing to meet him on a certain day. Mr. Harmer soon after left the office, and nothing further transpired.

### HER MAJESTY'S ANSWERS TO ADDRESSES.

#### TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE FEMALE INHABITANTS OF ST. IVES.

The female inhabitants of St. Ives, in the county of Huntingdon, will accept my unfeigned thanks for this loyal and affectionate Address. I am happy in this instance, and it is my hope, as it will be my solace in every occurrence of my life, to have my actions applauded, and my principles approved. The favour of Providence has been clearly manifested in the striking vicissitudes of my eventful history. Those vicissitudes, when viewed in conjunction with all their associated circumstances, with their preparatory incidents, and their subsequent results, will be found, in a very impressive manner, to exemplify the moral government of the Deity.

#### TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE FEMALE INHABITANTS OF THE BOROUGH OF TRURO.

I return my cordial thanks to the female inhabitants of the Borough of Truro and the adjacent streets, for this loyal and affectionate address.

Slander has long filled her quiver with envenomed arrows

to pierce the very vitals of my reputation; though not one of those malicious shafts has been able to penetrate the shield of my integrity. It is not only my destruction that has been the object of my enemies—it is the destruction of every thing that ought to be most dear to Britons; my fall was designed to prepare the way for their humiliation. I was to be deprived of a crown: this was a loss, in which I might have acquiesced with less repugnance, if I had not been certain that my loss of rank would have been their loss of liberty. But the courage of the people, aided by the noble exertions of the press, will both maintain the security of the Queen and the liberties of the nation.

#### TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE MALE AND FEMALE INHABITANTS OF THE PA- RISH OF ST. ANNE, LIMEHOUSE.

I feel much satisfaction in receiving this loyal and affectionate address from the male and female inhabitants of the parish of St. Anne, Limehouse.

Whatever may be the final issue of the present proceedings against me in the House of Lords, the measure itself will not form one of the bright pages in the Judicial History of our country. Though the conclusion of the most honourable judicature should be in favour of my innocence, it will never be forgotten that the principle of the Bill was highly unconstitutional—an infraction of individual right, and an invasion of national liberty.

To behold all existing laws,



both civil and ecclesiastical, deliberately set aside in order to crush one individual for the purpose of gratifying another, is a proceeding which, however it may have found support in the obscured judgments, or in the corrupt interests of particular individuals in the present generation, will experience the unqualified reprobation of posterity.

When the tumultuous agitation of the present conflict shall have subsided, and men's minds shall have recovered their former serenity, it will hardly be thought credible that any Ministers, not absolutely insane, would have suffered such a question to endanger the peace of the community.

The great excellence of a free constitution is, that the law is one and the same for all. But how can we reconcile to our ideas of a free constitution the violation of every existing law for the benefit of an individual? Yet is not this, in a few words, the substantial intent of the Bill of Pains and Penalties?

Conformity to the laws is, for the sake of example, more requisite in a King than in any of his subjects. Ought, therefore, a divorce to be granted to his Majesty in circumstances in which it would be denied to any of his subjects? Ought it to be granted to him on terms which are neither compatible with the precepts of the Gospel as interpreted by the Church; nor with the temporal laws, as fixed by the state?

TO THE ADDRESS OF THE DEACONS OF  
THE EIGHT INCORPORATED TRADES  
OF THE CITY OF PERTH.

I have great satisfaction in receiving this loyal and affectionate address from the Deacons of the eight incorporated trades of the city of Perth, in the Convener's Court assembled.

The indignities which I experienced when abroad were excrescences from that great trunk of conspiracy, against my honour and my rights, which has taken such a deep root in this country, and has spread its branches far and wide over the continent.

The nation has been insulted in the person of the Queen; nor ought it to be forgotten that a minister of the Pope dared, in an official instrument, to deprive the Queen of England of that appellation to which she is lawfully entitled. There have been times when such an insult would not have been suffered by any Ministry, and when, if they had been endured by the Ministry, that Ministry would not have been endured by the people.

The malice of my enemies has done its worst; and the day of moral retribution is at hand. Injustice and falsehood may flourish for a season, but it can be only for a season. That season will soon pass away; and he who seeks them, where they were once seen, soon finds that they are to be seen no more. The ways of Providence are not as our ways, but they are always in favour of moral rectitude in their ultimate results.

TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE INHABITANTS OF CROYDON, SURREY.

I have been much gratified by the loyal and affectionate Address from the Inhabitants of the parish of Croydon, in the County of Surrey.

It is not possible for the dim sight of man to penetrate far into the dark immensity of the moral world; but still there is light enough upon the confines of that awful vast, to teach us a few simple but salutary truths. Our limited experience and confined observation are sufficient to prove that evil is often one of the means of good, and that the seeds of misfortune often throw up a harvest of happiness. My life will furnish numerous instances of a moral retribution; and will, at the same time, prove that there is more native strength in unprotected innocence than in the most systematic falsehood or the best fabricated perjury.

In the conspiracy against me in 1806 there was no want of well contrived circumstantial particulars, which were formed into a very plausible story; nor did the tale want the support of witnesses who had no scrupulosity about an oath; but the whole fabric was no sooner touched by the wand of truth than it dissolved into empty air. The present conspiracy, in like manner, is demonstrated to have been the deliberate contrivance of falsehood and malevolence.

Where a country has been long governed for the benefit of a few, it is not surprising that the people should be clamour-

ous for such an extension of political rights, as may enable them to check that corrupt influence which, while it lasts, will more or less paralyze the moral energies of those within the sphere of its agency, and finally sap the very vitals of the Constitution. All political institutions, like the material fabrics of man, are composed of perishable elements. They contain in themselves the principle of decay, of which the agency, unless scrupulously watched and carefully retarded, is never still. But how few Governments ever see the necessity of early reformation! Hence they delay reform till it is too late; or too late to be beneficial. They either never intend a remedy, or they procrastinate the application till it is applied in vain.

TO THE ADDRESS OF THE LETTER-PRESS PRINTERS OF LONDON AND ITS ENVIRONS.

I am highly gratified by this loyal and affectionate Address from the Letter-press Printers of London and its environs.

It is public opinion which has supported me in the otherwise unequal conflict with numerous adversaries, who not only possess unbounded resources, but who have never scrupled to use any means by which their vengeance could be gratified. This public opinion is the concentrated force of many enlightened minds, operating through the medium of the Press. Hence the public sentiment has been directed, and the public feeling excited, till the people have risen up like one man, in vindication of my rights. The conviction, with



few exceptions, has become universal, that I am the victim of a foul conspiracy, and that I have for years been persecuted by the most flagrant injustice and inhumanity.

There is a part of the Press which has been busily employed in fabricating the most atrocious slanders against myself, and all who have manifested any zeal or ability in my defence. Base natures cannot endure natures of a higher order. They loathe the moral and intellectual superiority that they never can reach. Hence calumny is the tax that worthlessness is perpetually levying upon worth. It is the Bill of Pains and Penalties that envy and malevolence are ever busily labouring to pass, in order to degrade virtue and talents to their own contemptible inferiority. But when I consider that my adversaries are invested with all the patronage of the country, and possess such extensive means of intimidation and corruption, I am not surprised that I should have been vilified by a few of their unprincipled mercenaries. My surprise is, that the greater part of the persons engaged in the conduct of the Press should have remained incorrupt and incorruptible. It is a great honour to be honest in any times; but, to be honest in bad times, is a species of panegyric which no man need blush to have inscribed upon his tomb.

The Press is at this moment the only strong hold that liberty has left. If we lose this, we lose all. We have no other rampart against an implacable foe.

The Press is not only the best security against the inroads of despotism, but it is itself a power that is perpetually checking the progress of tyranny, and diminishing the number of its adherents. That sun never rises which does not, before it sets, behold some addition to the friends of Liberty. To what is this owing? To what can it be owing, but to the agency of the Press? The force of truth is ultimately irresistible; but truth, without some adventitious aid, moves with a slow pace, and sometimes its motion is so slow as to be imperceptible. The Press is its accelerating power. The Press gives it wings. The Press does more for truth in one day, than mere oral teaching could in a century.

What is it that has made the members of the Holy Alliance turn pale with dread? It is that the Press has inspired the love of liberty even in the sword.

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TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE INHABITANTS OF STOCKPORT.

I accept with many thanks this affectionate Address from the inhabitants of Stockport and its environs.

Those circumstances which are most adverse to our wishes often prove, in the end, most favourable to our happiness.—The afflictions with which I have been visited by the chastening hand of Providence, and the numerous wrongs which I have experienced from the injustice and inhumanity of my enemies, have tended to increase my opportunities of intellectual im-

provement. That improvement has, from early life, been amongst the objects nearest and dearest to my heart. The highest pre-eminence of man is to be a rational being. The cultivation of the mind is one of the first duties when we are placed in circumstances which furnish leisure for the acquisition of knowledge and the improvement of the mind.

Those very events which, at the time, I thought most disastrous, have enabled me to take a more comprehensive view of life, and to obtain a more thorough insight into the human character than usually happens to persons in my elevated station. My long and extensive travels, in which I have viewed a large portion of mankind under such a diversity of social and political aspects, have increased the conviction with which I set out in early life, that liberty is essential to the happiness of individuals and to the prosperity of nations.

TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE INHABITANTS OF SHEFFIELD.

I am convinced that the Females of the United Kingdom are my warmest friends; and amongst those females who so zealously espouse my cause, this affectionate Address convinces me that I may number the Female Inhabitants of the town of Sheffield and its vicinity. Their kind expressions of condolence and congratulation tell me that they feel a deep interest in my welfare.

I am convinced that all the evils which I have suffered, and

all the persecutions which I have undergone, whatever may be the sorrows which they have occasioned to myself, will prove ultimately beneficial to the English nation. It is this assurance which throws a cheering ray over the dreary horizon of my present circumstances. I have long felt it a duty to live as much for others as for myself: and, indeed, the more my life is prolonged, the more I am conscious that the best way of adding to my own happiness is to promote that of my fellow-creatures.

TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE BOROUGH OF MALMSBURY.

I am much obliged by this affectionate Address from the inhabitants of the ancient Borough of Malmsbury.

In the conspiracy that was directed against my honour and my life, in 1806, I felt that integrity was strength, and innocence security. I am not at all dismayed by the present conspiracy, though it is supported by the arm of overwhelming power. Vast as are its resources, and formidable as is its character, I am convinced that it will experience the fate of preceding similar attempts; and disgrace only the actors in this drama of malignity and injustice.

When my enemies find their exertions as abortive in the present, as in the former conspiracies, I trust that I shall experience an evening of repose after such a long day of storms. If I am to enjoy this blessing, my heart tells me that it will be principally owing to the ge-



nerous sympathies of Englishmen.

TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE FEMALES  
OF HALIFAX.

I shall always be ambitious of preserving the esteem of my own sex; and, among those of my own sex, whose good opinion I value, I am far from being indifferent to the approbation of the Female Inhabitants of Halifax.

I am not the narrow-minded advocate of any sect or party, but the common friend of all parties and sects. Every Sovereign suffers a diminution of his sovereignty in proportion as he becomes a partizan. There is nothing factious or sectarian in goodness; and those who aim at benefiting mankind must not suffer themselves to be fettered by exclusive partialities.

TO THE SPITALFIELDS ADDRESS.

I have been much gratified by an Address so loyal and so affectionate from the Churchwardens, Overseers, and other Inhabitants of the Parish of Christchurch, Middlesex, commonly called Spitalfields.

There is no period in the history of this country, in which the feelings of the people have been so universally or so powerfully excited as in the present. A case of individual oppression has interested every heart.--- Every member of the community who is not enlisted in the service of the selfish faction, has made my wrongs and sufferings his own sufferings and wrongs.

The sympathy which my af-

flictions have excited has produced a degree of close and cordial union in the sentiments of the nation, which augurs the most glorious results. Union is always strength, even in a few; but union in a nation is might irresistible. An united nation has only to express its will to have it obeyed.

The great fault in the Statesmen of modern times, and particularly of our own country, has been, that they have not kept pace with the increased knowledge and improved sentiments of the age. While the nation has been progressive, they have been stationary, or even retrograde. While the nation has been making mighty strides in political science, and acquiring a fitness for more liberal institutions, they have been fixed, as if by the spell of enchantment, in the narrow circle of ancient prejudices, or have been labouring to keep others within the confines of ignorance and superstition. In short, they are still children, while the nation has grown up to manhood. They are still in the leading-strings of puerile maxims, while the people have learned to walk erect in the light of new truths and of better principles.

My heart is tenderly touched with a sense of those miseries which the inhabitants of Spitalfields mention as characterizing the general state of the country at the present period. Had I the power of mitigating those miseries, my grief would be less; but, at present, I lament evils and deplore calamities for which I cannot furnish a re-

medy; and I grieve the more, because I grieve in vain.

TO THE ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF STROUD, IN GLOCESTERSHIRE.

I receive with cordial satisfaction this loyal and affectionate Address from the Inhabitants of the town of Stroud and its vicinity, in the county of Gloucester.

The sympathies of the people with my wrongs and my sufferings have been so universally manifested, as to make my adversaries pause in their career of oppression, and politically to hesitate when they do not morally relent.

I have experienced adversity in many of its most distressing calamities, and in some of its darkest hours; but I have always found that it never has passed away without leaving some moral benefit behind. Adversity usually compensates its immediate evils by its subsequent good, and its uses are, in numerous instances, so precious, that it may often be regarded as prosperity under another name.

I have been at times sunk in the depth of affliction; but from those depths I have been raised by the invisible hand of the Allmerciful, to rejoice in the dawn of happier days, and to contemplate a futurity of hope for myself and for mankind.

Whatever may have been the will of Omnipotence with respect to my destiny in time past, I acknowledge it to have been both wise and good; and I trust that my safety will be protected by the same wisdom, and my

happiness be promoted by the same goodness, in the time to come. These sentiments are my cheering associates during the day, and at night they smooth the pillow of my repose.

TO THE FEMALES OF LEEDS.

I have derived no ordinary satisfaction from the consciousness that my conduct has excited the approbation of the Female Inhabitants of the Borough of Leeds and its vicinity.

In the conflict with my enemies I have steadily adhered to my original purpose of vindicating my innocence at every risk; and have suffered no lure, however tempting, to make me forget that my rights are not exclusively my own, but belong to the common stock of public liberty. If I had tamely surrendered those rights I should have betrayed the people, for whose good they were bestowed; and to whose generous attachment I am indebted for all that I possess.

I never could consent to make reputation an affair of mercenary traffic. If I could have been guilty of such baseness, it would have rendered me totally unworthy of the title or the rank of Queen. But yet if I would have stooped so low, and unresistingly have become an accessory to my own infamy, I might have avoided the Bill of Pains and Penalties, and have had my enemies bearing testimony to the purity of my conduct and the patriotism of my principles.

The SELFISH FACTION, who have become my accusers, have



been in the habit of truckling to superior power, and of complying with all its fickle inclinations, till they have acquired a fondness for turpitude, as persons may live in a polluted atmosphere till they lose all relish for the breath of the zephyrs or the fragrance of the fields.

TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE BOROUGH  
OF LEEDS.

My cordial thanks are due to the inhabitants of the borough of Leeds for this affectionate address. The religious sentiments which it breathes are such as meet with corresponding sentiments in my own mind. I feel it my duty not to dispute the wisdom, or to question the goodness of the Eternal, in any even of his most afflicting dispensations.

Our views are bounded on all sides; and we are apt to regard things only in their immediate relations to our present interest; but the Supreme Wisdom adjusts his discipline to our good, not only in the time which now is, but in that which is to come. If I have been despitefully used, and wrongfully persecuted, I still hope to derive benefit from the evil I have experienced.

All injuries are apt to rebound upon the author; and though vengeance is slow, yet how few are there who can ultimately avoid its shaft or elude its pursuit! I should not be a human being, if injury excited no feeling of resentment in my breast; but I am conscious that not only out of a regard for a higher au-

thority, but from a desire not to disturb my own internal tranquillity, I ought not to suffer that feeling to rankle in my heart.

The sentiment of integrity, which has its fixed residence in my soul, makes me despise the accusations of my enemies. I know that the malice of my oppressor has never yet been restrained by any moral consideration; but that malice has hitherto been rendered imbecile by the public indignation which it has excited on one side, and by all the better sympathies which it has roused in my defence on the other.

It cannot be supposed that the Bill of Pains and Penalties, which has not hitherto been supported by a particle of honest testimony, will receive the sanction of the Legislature; but if it should, it will be found not merely to inflict the penalty of degradation upon the Queen, but of servitude upon the nation. Its professed object is to deprive the Queen of her honour and her rights, but its real effect will be to destroy the liberties of Englishmen.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF TAUNTON.

The Inhabitants, Male and Female, of the town of Taunton and its vicinity, are requested to accept my cordial acknowledgments for this loyal and affectionate Address. I am much gratified by their approbation of my conduct; and their honest declaration in favour of my innocence.

I trust that no part of my

conduct has ever exhibited any of the conscious apprehensions of guilt. If I had been guilty I should not have rejected the offer to sin with impunity; but it is the elevating sentiments of innocence that made me at once disdain the splendid bribe that would have secured my character from all judicial investigation, and which next impelled me to challenge my enemies to produce proofs, if proof could be produced, of their criminal accusations. Though my adversaries have had the means of purchasing evidence, wherever it could be procured, they have not been able to adduce any thing like credible testimony in support of any one of their allegations. The testimony which they have produced, instead of making good any charge, has been most efficacious in demonstrating its own iniquity and that of my adversaries. My acquittal must be their condemnation.

TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE INHABITANTS OF ST. PANCRAS AND ITS VICINITY.

I accept with unfeigned satisfaction this loyal and affectionate Address from the Inhabitants of the parish of St. Pancras and its vicinity.

I feel that my interest is completely identified with that of the people; and that there is a reciprocity both in our friendships and our enmities. Those who are labouring to pollute my honour are, in the same act, tarnishing the national glory in its judicial character. Those who are so solicitous to deprive

me of my dignities have ever shown themselves ready to embrace any opportunity of stripping the nation of its rights. Those who are eager to degrade the Queen have never manifested any repugnance in abridging the liberties of the people.

Where any country is governed by a faction, it must be governed more for the benefit of a few, than for the interests of all. Under the government of a faction, the common good is a prey to the rapacity of individuals. The vulture and the cormorant penetrate into the treasury, where patriotic disinterestedness ought to preside; and into the sanctuary, where gentle piety ought to dwell.

Under a just and beneficent government, neither good nor evil is partially dispensed: there is an equal distribution of benefits, and a similarly equal participation of burdens or calamities; there is nothing exclusive. The blessings of a wise administration are impartially scattered, as the dew of Heaven is equally diffused.

A Bill of Pains and Penalties is so unconstitutional in its principle, so tyrannical in its nature, and so unjust in its operations, that I trust the present is the last attempt of the kind that will be made on the liberties of Englishmen. If I should be the means of putting an end for ever to such an arbitrary exertion of legislative power, and such an illegal invasion of individual right, I shall not have lived in vain.



TO THE ADDRESS OF THE FREE WATER-  
MEN AND LIGHTERMEN OF THE PORT  
OF LONDON.

It is commerce to which Britain is principally indebted for its wealth and its power: and commerce, if it does not owe its origin to liberty, is, at least, never known to flourish in any country where the people are not free. Commerce, like the bird that wantons in the air, loves the unrestrained expansion of its wings; and will not flourish when it is impeded by restrictions, loaded with prohibitions, or subjected to arbitrary imposts. Liberty is the life of commerce, but slavery its death; as it is the death of every thing that is most intimately connected with the happiness of man.

I have ever felt a strong interest in every thing connected with the welfare of commerce, and the prosperity of navigation. I was, therefore, much gratified by this loyal and affectionate address from the Lightermen and Watermen of the Port of London. It speaks the sentiments of free men. The Lightermen and Watermen of this crowded Port are actively engaged in conducting the trade, and aiding the navigation, of the first commercial river in the world. Usefulness is never a very erroneous criterion of value in the great scheme of society; and, if we apply this criterion to the Lightermen and Watermen of the Port of London, we shall find that the best interests of the metropolis are in no small degree assisted by his honest body of useful citi-

zens. I thank them, from my soul, for this artless expression of their condolence, and this zealous tribute of their regard; as long as they continue to navigate this river, I trust they will never cease to remember that the Queen, who is now living on its banks, was a warm and steadfast friend to their particular interests, and to the general prosperity of this great maritime community,

TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE PARISH  
OF CLERKENWELL.

I accept with unfeigned satisfaction the affectionate Address from the Parish of Clerkenwell.

No intimidation shall prevent me from doing right; no bribe induce me to do wrong. I have a monitor within, whose injunctions I deem superior to any temptations of interest, or any incitements of ambition. As long as I do not behold myself contaminated in the mirror of my own conscience, I cannot only calmly look my enemies in the face, but I can solemnly invoke the Almighty to testify my innocence.

When I reflect upon the pain and misery that seem, in a greater or less degree, inseparable from the condition of man, I do not consider myself to possess any claim to an exemption from the common afflictions of humanity; I look up to the author of my being only as the author of my happiness; and, though I may lament his chastisements, I cannot question his benevolence.

The members of the hierarchy who have silently given their consent, or openly lent their sanction to the exclusion of my name from the Liturgy, must inconsiderately have forgotten it to be their duty, not to prostrate themselves at the feet of any temporal master, in questions in which conscience is concerned.

Every day tends to furnish more and more clues for penetrating into the dark labyrinth of that conspiracy, which has, for so many years, been preparing its train of artifices against my character, and my happiness. The present plot has been carefully got up; and no pains have been spared to make it complete in every part.—Falsehood has been purchased wherever it could be found; and the witnesses, who have been brought to appear against the Queen Consort, will cost the Exchequer more than the pay of many a gallant regiment. The actors in this grand representation of connubial infelicity are to be seen in every kind of costume; and Europe, Asia, and Africa, are to play their respective parts at the bar of the House of Lords.

My adversaries have no regard for the venerable principles of the British Constitution—for the rights it confers, or the liberties it guarantees.—Their love for the Constitution is only a cover for their own selfish views. They love no part of the Constitution except that which is in decay. It is that decayed part alone, in which “they live, and move,

and have their being,” in which they bound with transport, and seem drunk with joy.

The good and the wise, among all classes, contemplate with horror the tremendous probabilities of a disputed succession, with which the present Bill of Pains and Penalties menaces the country. But my adversaries are so ravished with the present delights of place, and so busy in rifling the immediate sweets of corruption, that they think nothing real but what is in close contact with sense. They live only for the day; and they leave it to their successors to provide for the morrow.

TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE LADIES  
OF CAMBERWELL.

I am unfeignedly obliged to the Female Inhabitants of the parish of Camberwell, for this loyal and affectionate address.

Elevation of rank ought to be associated with elevation of sentiment. In proportion as we ascend in the gradations of political life, we ought to find more disinterestedness and magnanimity, more expansion of the heart, more inflexibility of principle, more steadiness in friendship, and more generosity even in enmities. But my experience would not justify this hope, or verify this expectation.

With one ever-memorable exception, I have been deserted by the very persons by whom I ought to have been most assiduously attended, and most affectionately cherished; but the middle and the inferior ranks have received me with gene-

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rous transport and enthusiastic delight. Most of the addresses with which I have been so affectionately greeted have been from the middle classes of society, who are placed above the line of dependence, and below the confines of corruption. The middle and the subordinate ranks appear to have been educated till they have been raised above the higher in energy of mind and generosity of heart. Great virtues and bright talents are, at this moment, to be found in the lowest conditions of life; and hence it requires no great sagacity to discover that the age of delusion is almost past; that craft of all kinds must give way to the force of common sense; and that governments will no longer be respected than while they are good and wise.

TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE FEMALES  
OF CLIFTON, KINGSDOWN, BRISTOL.

I am much gratified by this loyal and affectionate Address from the Females residing at Clifton, Kingsdown, in the vicinity of Bristol.

Life is largely furnished with occasions for the practice of resignation. No one can have been much versed in the drama of human existence without being strongly impressed by the multiplicity of its vicissitudes. Hope, here and there, dazzles our view with gay phantoms; for experience usually proves that they are but phantoms. The deceptive forms vanish; and the vision that interested the imagination disappears. As if life were a dream, we grasp

at airy illusions and let solid realities pass unheeded by.

If any monitor is wanting against the folly of indulging extravagant expectation on the one hand, or of yielding to fruitless despondency on the other, my life will furnish numerous instructions of this kind, and will impress the necessity of never hoping too much, but of never sorrowing without hope.

TO THE ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS  
OF THE BOROUGH OF HORSHAM,  
IN THE COUNTY OF SUSSEX.

I have been much gratified by this loyal and affectionate Address from the Inhabitants of the Borough, Town, and vicinity of Horsham, in the County of Sussex.

The strong excitement which at present pervades the whole kingdom is most honourable to the character of the nation. It is an excitement which has nothing factious in its origin. Faction, more or less, implies the opposition of a part of the state to the whole, or of a few opinions or interests to those of the majority. But, in the present instance the excitement is universalized; the opinion is one and the same in all, with the exception of the few who are the menials of corruption, or who are the dependants upon those menials. And even of these many are secretly favourable to my interest; or, at least unwilling to espouse that of my enemies.

The generous enthusiasm of virtue kindles the blush of shame, even in its adversaries.

TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE PARISH OF ALL SAINTS, POPLAR.

I am unfeignedly obliged to the inhabitants of the parish of All Saints, Poplar, for this agreeable testimony of their loyalty and attachment.

When my persecutors commence their atrocious attacks upon my honour and my happiness, they little thought that they were investing me with an unbounded power over the sympathies of the people. Their conspiracy against my peace will ultimately prove an involuntary attack upon their own. They have fixed the worm of remorse in their breasts, nor will it speedily be removed.

Happily for mankind malice is short-sighted, and its short-sightedness usually renders it impotent to hurt. In the majority of instances it recoils upon itself, and is a torment to the mind in which it originates, and whose tranquillity it destroys.

The agency of the benevolent principle is the only certain source of internal satisfaction. This causes peace within and allays suspicions from without. Malice is haunted by its own fiends; it swarms with inquietudes of every degree of intensity, and with apprehensions of every variety of hue.

The interior state of my adversaries is not an object of envy. The victim of injustice is usually more happy than the perpetrator of the deed.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF KIDDERMINSTER.

I sincerely thank the inhabitants of Kidderminster for this

loyal and affectionate address. I shall be more than recompensed for all the sufferings I have experienced, if they ultimately promote the happiness of these realms. That can never be true happiness which begins and terminates in self. That alone is true and unsophisticated happiness which is reflected upon the consciousness of the misery we have alleviated, and the good we have produced. The most religious man is he who bears the nearest resemblance to what the most enlightened minds can form of the Deity; but reason, in its most reflective hours, can imagine no higher perfection in God himself, than that of the most unbounded beneficence. What most ennobles man is the zealous imitation of the Almighty in this resplendent attribute.

TO THE ADDRESS OF THE CORPORATED TRADES OF THE BURGH OF CRAIL.

I gratefully accept this loyal and affectionate Address from the Convener, Deacon, and Members of the ancient Royal Scotch Burgh of Crail.

The afflictions which I have endured have not weakened my trust in an overruling Providence. They have rather increased that trust; while they have habituated my mind to the soothing sentiment of humble resignation. My enemies will, at length, allow that the aggressions of injustice, and the artifices of falsehood, cannot permanently prevail over integrity and truth.